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First: Some restriction should be placed upon the free commerce as a mercantile commodity of arms and munitions of war, and power should be conferred upon the President to limit or suspend, in his discretion, their export across the border in time of disturbance or insurrection.

Second: It should be made unlawful for Americans to enter the military service of any power or chief at war with a nation with which we are at peace. It was the personal aid of Americans that gave strength to the Canadian rebellion in 1838, to the late insurrection in Mexico, and to the recent civil wars in Nicaragua and Honduras. In this respect the laws of Great Britain, France, and other countries are in advance of ours. The British Foreign Enlistment Act of 1870 makes it unlawful for any British subject to enter the military service of any power at war with a nation with which its government is at peace, and it subjects them to heavy fines and imprisonment. In all its neutrality proclamations on the breaking out of hostilities in other nations, the British government notifies its subjects of the penalties they will incur under their own laws, and it further warns them that they will enter such foreign service at their own peril, in no wise obtain any protection from their own government, and must suffer such penalties as the enemy may inflict upon them. We certainly should do no less than this.

Third: Greater power should be conferred upon the President, in time of civil disturbance on the frontier, to limit or prohibit intercourse across the border, to prevent the abuse of our territory by foreign conspirators, and in his discretion to enforce martial law on our soil within the zone of disturbance.

We had a foretaste during our Civil War of what an unfriendly neutrality may do to aid our domestic enemies. The conservative government of Mexico allowed the free entrance through Matamoros and across the Rio Grande of unlimited warlike supplies for the Southern armies. The Confederate agents in Canada, harbored by a sympathetic government, were enabled to raid and burn towns, loot banks, seize and destroy steamers on the Great Lakes, and threaten the destruction of New York and Chicago. Should internal strife again unhappily visit our fair land, the recent occurrences on the Mexican frontier suggest what an imperfect neutrality might allow to be inflicted upon us. Is it not time we set our own house in order, as we exhort other nations to international peace and good-will? (Long continued applause.)

### The Avoidance of War.

From President Taft's Address at the Twenty-fifth International Convention of the Christian Endeavor Societies Held at Atlantic City July 6-12, 1911.

"But, as I say, I did not come here to tell you about your own organization. I came to talk on a subject and cause in which I have, in common with all the civilized people of the world, an intense interest, and that is the avoidance of war by providing such instrumentalities for the settlement of international controversies as to make war remote because unnecessary.

"I observe that in your last convention, the Twenty-fourth International Convention, one of your resolutions was as follows:

"Resolved, That, as followers of the Prince of Peace, we ally ourselves with every effort that is being made for the suppression of war. The immense and ever-increasing tax which war and preparations for war levy on peaceful industries, and the frightful horrors of war itself, demand that every lover of God and humanity should unite for its suppression."

"In the last twenty-five years we have made great progress toward an international condition in which war is less likely than heretofore. It is true that in that time we have had several great wars—the war between China and Japan, the war between Russia and Japan, the war between the United States and Spain, the war between England and the Boers, and perhaps some others. Nevertheless, as between the great countries of Europe which have armed themselves to the teeth since the German-French war of 1870, peace has been maintained; and under the inspiration of a common desire for peace, treaties have been made with reference to arbitration at The Hague, and for the establishment of a court at The Hague for the settlement of international disputes, and have pointed to an ideal of the utmost use in the promotion of the cause of peace.

"We have ameliorated in many ways the ancient cruelties of war by Red Cross agreements, by the immunity of private property on land from destruction. Now we are agreeing upon what is called the Declaration of London, which, if confirmed, as it seems likely to be, will take away from war on the sea those principles of lawful piracy that have always characterized in a naval war the dealing with the private property of the citizens of enemies.

"Just today four great powers—England, Russia, Japan, and the United States—signed a treaty by which we agreed in effect to abolish the shooting of seals at sea, in order to preserve the valuable herds on the land, and to allow them to propagate in such a way as to maintain the fur seal industry and secure for human use the valuable furs that such seals furnish. It is the beginning, I hope, of the adoption of useful game laws for the open ocean, which has heretofore been subject to the wanton and irresponsible use of men of every nation. It is the settlement by treaty of a controversy that has troubled these four nations for several generations, and it ought to be the cause of great congratulation.

"By negotiation and meditation, and the formation of arbitration agreements, wars in the last decade have been stopped in Central and South America in a most gratifying number of instances. Not all wars have been stopped in the countries lacking stability and power to enforce law and order, but that there is a marked improvement throughout Latin America in this regard, and especially in Central America, no one who has consulted the statistics of revolutions can fail to recognize.

"The heroism and exhibition of the noblest qualities of the heart and soul and mind of man that war makes possible, every student of history and of human nature must admit; but that this is accompanied with the horrible cost and sacrifice of human suffering and lives, and an associated exhibition of the lowest moral qualities in man, of ambition, lust for power, of cruelty, ghoulish rapacity and corruption, is equally true, and in very few cases, if any, can the historian say that the god of war was worth the awful sacrifice.

"And hence it is that we should all welcome and aid, as far as we can, the effort to dispense with the necessity of war altogether. Even if this effort may not be entirely successful, every movement which tends to discourage war, and to furnish a means of avoiding it, ought to receive and does receive the earnest support of an organization that has the purposes and principles that actuate the Society of Christian Endeavor."

## How Commerce Promotes Peace.

By John Ball Osborne.

ADDRESS GIVEN AT THE THIRD NATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS, BALTIMORE, MAY 5, 1911.

My topic, "How Commerce Promotes Peace," might logically be reversed to read "How Peace Promotes Commerce," for commerce is completely dependent upon peace. The timidity of capital is proverbial; the mere suggestion of business disturbances frightens it into hiding-places from which it can be coaxed only when it is convinced that the danger is past. International commerce, representing as it does today the largest investment of capital in the world, with an approximate annual valuation of thirteen and a half million dollars, is extremely sensitive to whatever influences encourage or discourage capital. So long as peace prevails commerce flourishes and grows apace, registering in its development the growth of wealth and prosperity of the trading countries; but the moment rumors of coming war circulate commerce begins to seek new channels where it will be least exposed to attack, and, with the outbreak of hostilities, it dwindles rapidly. No matter how extensive and powerful the naval and military establishments may be which offer their protection, commerce is never sufficiently reassured to thrive while hostilities last. Thus it is that peace is vitally necessary to commerce.

Modern international commerce is very unlike that of earlier times. The student of history, in considering the influence of commerce on peace among nations, is apt to draw illustrations from the past where commerce has apparently furnished the provocation for war. This was particularly true under the old policy of colonial conquest and colonization pursued for several centuries by the leading European nations; at first by Spain and Portugal, and later by England and France. Under this predatory system of commerce distant colonies, acquired by discovery or conquest, were exploited mercilessly and their resources drained with the sole purpose of increasing the wealth and power of the mother country; regardless of the welfare of the colonial possessions. Naturally the struggle for commercial supremacy based on such a selfish system resulted in a series of bloody and exhausting wars.

But today there are no new fields for colonial conquest; nor are there any extensive territories that remain unexplored. Practically the entire world is partitioned and the boundaries of the various political entities are well established and recognized by all civilized powers. Moreover, the spirit of conquest is no longer rampant, but has given way to the spirit of forbearance and mutual conciliation. Under these conditions commerce has become an eminently peaceful pursuit, mutually beneficial to the nations engaged therein. In fact, international commerce is the paramount power in the civilized world, and it furnishes the subject-matter of most of the questions that require consideration in the foreign relations of the various governments. Commercial diplomacy, therefore, has taken the place of the old political diplomacy, which means that the influences that make for peace are in control in the Foreign Offices of the world.

Modern commerce rests fairly and squarely upon the broad and equitable principles of reciprocity. Consequently, when we consider commerce as an agency in promoting peace we must look beyond the selfish viewpoint and narrow horizon of the old mercantilists, or perhaps of even the modern ultra-protectionists, and consider the movement of imports as well as of exports in our trade relations with foreign countries, for it is the principle of mutuality of trade interests that constitutes the best safeguard for the preservation of peace among trading nations.

By this reasoning we arrive at the basic proposition that the closer the commercial ties the better the outlook for permanent peace. It is obvious, I think, that the closer and more numerous the ties created between two nations by commercial relationship, the greater will be the reluctance on the part of either to begin a war against the other. These commercial ties make the damages possible by war so much greater than any gains derivable from it that the love of peace and the horror of war are both intensified, and thus expanding commerce furnishes an increasing security against war.

It may be of interest to take note of some of the various commercial ties which bind modern nations in a community of interest and a state of interdependence. Such a study of trade relations should include more than the movement of imports and exports of merchandise, although this is, of course, the largest item in the equation of international indebtedness. It should take account also of the navigation movement; the international railway traffic; cable and telegraphic communication between nations; the financial investments by citizens of one country in another country; the returns from these investments flowing from the debtor country to the creditor country; the remittances of money made by immigrants to families and friends in the fatherland, and numerous minor elements which enter into the general business relations between nations.

What we may term extraterritorial investments of capital constitute one of the most important phases of the business relations between modern nations. Although primarily classifiable under the head of finance, these interests are closely linked to commerce, for the investment of foreign capital usually promotes commerce between the lending and the borrowing country, particularly as regards the supply of machinery and other materials required in the industrial enterprises.